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THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

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Government in General:

AND OUR

Present Circumstances

IN

Great-Britain and Ireland.

SALUS POPULI, SUPREMA LEX.

DUBLIN:

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By J. H. B. Bookellers in Dublin

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S O M E
T H O U G H T S
C O N C E R N I N G
G O V E R N M E N T, &c.

MAN is, by Nature, constituted a Member of SOCIETY: His chief *Pleasures*, his greatest *Happiness*, depend upon that *State*; His very *Existence* is, in some Respects, owing to *it*. As he comes into the World *Indigent* and *Naked* and (in himself) *helpless*; he needs the *Assistance*, the *Support* and *Protection* of *others*. And, even, after he is able to provide the *Necessaries of Life* for himself, how small a Share would he have of the *Comforts of Life*? How little could he enjoy it? with,

without living in *Society*, without the *Exchange of good Offices*, without the *friendly and agreeable Commerce of Life*? But an **UNIFORM Regularity and Order** is necessary to the *Support and well-being of Society*; That all may *Conspire in the properest Manner to pursue that One GREAT End, the Happiness of the WHOLE*, or (in other Words) the *Happiness of ALL and EVERY Member of the Community*. This is the Original Notion of Government; the *Support and Well-being of the SOCIETY*, the *End* for which it is constituted. And, be the *Model and Frame* of the Government of what kind soever, it must preserve a Conformity with this original Conception of it; Otherwise it changes into **ANARCHY or TYRANNY**.

Thus wou'd **GOVERNMENT** be needfull, even in a State of *Innocence*, where *Punishments* wou'd not be necessary to procure Obedience to the Laws. No **CREATED SOCIAL NATURES**, because of a *finite Understanding*, can be exempted from it; much less can **MANKIND** be without it, in the present Depraved State of Human Nature.

As Men grow up, their *Passions* gather Strength; which, tho' originally implanted for their *Good*, by frequent *Indulgence* and *Misapplication* in pursuit of *Irregular and Criminal Inclinations*, produce *vicious Habits* not consist

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ent with the *Good of Society*: Whereby their *Benevolence* towards their Neighbours is lessened; *Heart-burnings, Jealousies, Dissentions, and Tumults* arise, to the *Confusion of Society, and Disturbance of Mankind*: So that there is now an absolute Necessity of GOVERNMENT, for this further Reason; that the *Innocent* may be *protected*; Others *deterred*, by *Punishment*, from breaking the *Harmony and Peace of SOCIETY*.

If it be true; that the *most perfect State* of the WHOLE, constitutes the *truest and greatest Happiness* of every MEMBER: Then, *that Kind of Government, that conduces most to the Good of Society in general, must be the happiest*; and, therefore, *ought to be Chosen*.

Right Reason informs us, that *Government* is occasioned by the *Necessities* of Mankind, and *design'd* for their *Benefit*; Therefore the *Authority of Government* proceeds from GOD, as being the FOUNTAIN of *Right Reason*: But the *Ordering the Government, and in whose Hands it is to be lodged, is to be determined by the Majority of the Society*; where GOD himself does not determine it.

Cæteris paribus, that Society must needs be *happiest*; whose Governours are *least* swayed by *Passion or private Interest*, to harm the Publick. Therefore, whatever contributes to promote a good Understanding between Governours and Subjects, to unite their *Interests in Reality, and*
to

to convince them they are inseparable in *Affection* also, must be greatly to the Advantage of the *Society*.

From the same Principle, whence *Government* takes its Rise, are derived the different *Orders* and *Degrees* amongst the *Members* of a *Society*. For, where all are upon a Level, there can be no *Unity of Design* in the *Multitude*; no orderly or well-advis'd *Distribution of Offices and Employments*: The *making* of Laws, at least of good ones, will be almost impracticable; and, the *Execution* of them still more so, if possible. But, in a *form'd Society*; each, in their different *Stations*, are able to Act for the Good of the *Whole*, by properly applying their different *Capacities and Talents* in different *Employments and Improvements*; each subservient *Art and Employment* being exercised in due *Subordination* to its Superior: Thus are the *Wants* of the *Society* best supplied; its *Interest* most conveniently and effectually promoted.

Since the true *Interest* of the *Publick* requires, that *INGENUITY* and *INDUSTRY* should meet with all possible *Encouragement*; no *Government* ought to hinder the *meanest Member* of the *Community* from advancing himself by his *Merit*. And surely, *cæteris paribus*, that *Society* must be the *happiest*, where *Honours* and *Places of Trust* are only given to the *Deserving*; where the *Royal Image* is not stamped upon *Metal of base Alloy*. 'Tis true; *Children* ought to

Reap

Reap the Benefit of *their Parents Industry*; and *Property*, descend; as a further Encouragement to the *Industrious Parent*; there being no good Reason against it: But, whether it be equally reasonable, to make HONOURS HEREDITARY; unless where the *Son*, by his *Merit*, keeps up his *Dignity* and *Station*; I shall not take upon me to determine.

It seems agreeable to Reason, that a Society; wherein *all concur* in making the Laws, either by *themselves* or *their Representatives*; and where most of the *Legislators* become afterwards *private Persons* and *subject to the Laws* they *themselves* have made; must be *happier* than that Society, which is subject to the *Caprice of one, or a few, who are always in Power*. Nor is it inconsistent with the Good of the Society, but convenient, that the *Execution* of those Laws be in the Hands of a *single Person*; provided he acts by a *Council*, that, if any thing is ill advised, may be *accountable* to the Legislature; which is the *last Resort*, and to which all private Persons in the Society ought to submit: only in one Thing the Legislators are *limited*; that they can't, with Justice, *alienate* the Power *delegated* to them by their *Constituents*.

At the *Beginning*, as *Men* increased and dispersed themselves over the Face of the Earth, in order to have Justice more conveniently and speedily administred, they formed themselves

selves into *different Societies*, according to their
different Tastes and Inclinations: So that *Colo-*
nies, as they went off from their *Native Coun-*
try, form'd themselves into different Govern-
 ments; usually directing themselves by the
Laws, and framing their *Government* according
 to the *Model*, of *that Society* they left; and, for
 some Time, keeping up *Alliances* with those
 they separated from: Which *Communication*,
 by Degrees, wore away, according to the Near-
 ness or Distance of the *Colony*. These *Colonies*,
 as they increased, began to *jostle for room*,
 and afterwards for *Power and Dominion*, which
 still continues to be too often the Cause of
 War between contending States: And the *Ci-*
ties and Lesser Colonies, either by *Conquest*
 or *Alliances*, form'd themselves into greater
Communities, in order to oppose the *neigh-*
bouring States, who were growing greater than
 was consistent with their Safety. In this
 Manner, were formed all the different *King-*
doms and States now in the World.

Tho' the *Welfare of Mankind in general* be
 the *End*, to which all well constituted Govern-
 ments do naturally tend, and for which they
 are *intended by the great Author of Nature*:
 Yet, because of the *differing Views and Inte-*
rests of different Kingdoms and States; the *Wel-*
fare, Safety and Defence of each particular Com-
 munity ought to be the principal Care of *it's*
Members; which secur'd, they ought to extend
 their

their Care to their Neighbours, and make such Alliances as may tend to the Welfare of the neighbouring States, and promote the universal Good of Mankind : In order to which, I shall make some general Observations concerning what may be conducive to the *Happiness of all States in general* : And, as I go along, I shall take Notice of some *Laws* that may be advantageous to *this particular Kingdom*.

The *Good* of *all*, and of each particular Member of the Society, so far as is consistent with the Good of the Whole ; is, and ought to be, the chief End and Care of Government.

Hence it follows, that each particular Person is entitled to the Protection of the State ; and the State, to the Advice and Assistance of each of it's Members ; as conducing to the *Good* of the *Whole*.

The great Scope and Design of the Laws is, to *preserve Peace, secure Property, encourage Virtue, strengthen the State, and promote Industry* ; and therefore the Laws ought to reach only to the *Actions* of Men, and *such Doctrines* as affect the Interest of Society. From hence it follows, that *Protection* and *Toleration* ought to be granted to all Persons who hold Opinions, tho' never so wide from one another, that are not against the general Laws necessary for the *Preservation* of *Society* ; or, by necessary Consequence, tending to disturb the *Peace* or *Well-being* of it.

The *Punishment* inflicted by the Law ought to be, as near as possible, adequate to the *Detriment* done to Society, so as to be morally sufficient to *restrain* the Crime; always taking Care, that the Evil averted be *greater* than the Evil of Punishment; and this last *no greater* than necessary, but the *most effectual* for the End proposed.

Therefore, since *Death* is not thus an adequate Punishment for Theft; except where a Person is put in Fear of his Life, or attack'd in his House, as in *Robberies* and *Burglaries*; upon many Accounts it wou'd be wise in the Legislature, to think of a different Punishment, to be inflicted instead of Death, which may be *more effectual, more merciful to the Offender, more advantageous to the Party offended*, and at the same Time preserve a great many *Lives* that may be made serviceable to the State. It is very reasonable to believe, that Criminals of this Kind wou'd be more terrified by the Prospect of an *uneasy and laborious* Life, than by that of a short and easy Death. The *Restoring* to the Owner *three-fold*; being put into *Work-Houses* and *Houses of Correction*; and, for egregious Offences, being sent to the *Gallies*, or sold for *Slaves*, paying the Money so obtained to the injured Prosecutors: Such Punishments wou'd be more *equitable*, might be more *severe*, if necessary; and, at the same time, wou'd leave room for *Repentance and Reformation*. Where

as now, both the Prosecutor and the Jury contribute to the *Impunity* of the Criminal : For, whether they are swayed by a Principle of *Compassion*, or a *superstitious Fear* of having their Hands in Blood ; we frequently see the Prosecution faintly urg'd by the Plaintiff, and the Jury refuse to *convict* upon the most sufficient Evidence.

Nor is the Law less defective in the Case of Debtors ; where also the *Punishments* are not adequate, but in some Cases too severe, in others the reverse. In considering this, I shall distinguish Debtors in the following Manner. They are either such, as become Debtors thro' *Misfortune*, thro' *Weakness of Understanding*, by means of *Laziness* or *Extravagance*, or out of a *fraudulent* and *Evil Disposition of Mind*.

Is it not very unreasonable, that the Law should make no Distinction among these ; but that one common Punishment, no less than *Imprisonment for Life*, should alike attend both the *Criminal* and *Unfortunate* ? LIBERTY is one of the most valuable *Blessings* enjoyed in a *free State* ; and shall we deprive a Man of it, without *Trial*, or so much as enquiring whether he be *justly blameable* ? Perhaps, the Cause of his being in Debt, has been a *Numerous Family*, which he has been endeavouring with his utmost Ability to maintain, and for which the *Publick* is his *Debtor* ; or, it may be, *unforeseen Casualties*, or the *Hardness of the Times*, have

baulk'd his Industry of the expected Means of paying his Debts. Now, since it has been thought, by able Masters in Politicks, that Mens Persons being liable to *Imprisonment* for their Debts, is, upon the Whole, a Disadvantage to the Publick: Can we doubt it in this Case, which puts a Debtor *for ever* out of a Capacity of paying, and affords the Creditor no Retribution, but the malicious Pleasure of confining his Debtor, which must *Ruin him*, and perhaps a *Whole Family*.

As for the Debtors thro' *Weakness of Understanding*: the Fault is apparently theirs who trust them. And the *Immunity* of their Persons wou'd have the same good Effect as that of *Minors*; that is, it wou'd make People more cautious of giving them Credit, and prevent their becoming a *Prey* to the more *Crafty and Designing*.

Debtors thro' *Laziness or Extravagance*, might be taught better Habits in a *Work-house*, and be forc'd to pay their Creditors with the Product of some *involuntary Labour*; which seems the *most natural, useful, and effectual Correction* of this kind of Transgressors: For why should they *starve*, or the *Publick maintain* them?

Those who contract Debts with *fraudulent or ill Designs*, may be sent to the *Gallies*, or sold to *Slavery*, which is no more than they deserve; their *Price* might be applied towards the *Payment* of their Creditors. Such Punishment wou'd terrifie more than *Imprisonment for Life*.

As,

As, in the foregoing Instance, the Punishments are greatly defective; there is another very important Case, wherein the most heinous Crime, thro' the Mildness of the Law, is not sufficiently discouraged; *that is, Willfull Perjury.* A Man swears falsely in giving Evidence; if his Perjury be not discovered, perhaps an innocent *Life* is lost, or a *Family* ruined in their Fortune, by the Loss of their Property; and, in case of Discovery, the Punishment is only being fined Forty Pounds, or being Pillor'd. Wou'd it not be more equitable, to make the Punishment nearly the same with the Evil the Innocent wou'd have suffered, in case the Perjury had not been discover'd? And so, in like manner, for *Subornation*.

Since *Oaths* are, and must be, the *last* Method by which Truth is brought to Light, and the common Band of Society; they ought to be administred with the greatest *Awe* and *Solemnity* possible; after such a Manner, and by such Expressions, as that all Sects and Denominations of People may think themselves, out of Principle, under the *most sacred* Obligations to regard them. The Evil of False-Swearing should be inculcated into Youth with the greatest Dread: And the Danger and Consequences of *Perjury* made *terrible* both in this World and in the next; as breaking Faith with GOD and Man.

P E R J U R T thro' Ignorance should be differently treated: And a Jury might distinguish it from the *Wilfull*, by the Circumstances.

Since Laws are made for the Good of each particular Member of the Society; they ought to be as plain and intelligible as possible, and as concise as is consistent with the Perspicuity that is requisite; that every Person, tho' of the meanest Capacity, may in some measure understand them, and with all convenient Speed have Justice; for, in several Cases, *speedy Injustice is less hurtful than delayed Justice*. It ought not only to be speedy, but attained with the least Expence possible; that the Poor may have Justice as well as the Rich.

The effectual *Promulgation* of the Laws should be also taken Care of.

Since Laws are design'd for the Peace, Safety, and Wellfare of Society; to make the Community happy, great and opulent; and not for aggrandizing those, who study the Law: It would be convenient to have Lawyers *limited in Number*, and no more allowed to plead than shou'd be found necessary. *The Legislature* think *two* sufficient, on each Side, in Case of *Appeals*; and ought *Inferiour Courts* to admit of *more*, unless in Cases of the utmost Consequence and Difficulty? Perhaps, it wou'd be better for the State, and every particular Subject; if, in stead of *Fees*, the *Lawyers* had *settled Salaries* from the Publick, from *two or three hundred to eight hun-*

hundred Pounds per Annum, as the *Judges* now have; and were distributed into different Parts of the Kingdom, as shou'd be thought convenient for the Good and Ease of the Publick. As the Case now stands, where *Fees* are taken, each Lawyer *makes the most* of his Client's Cause, to shew his own Parts and Ingenuity; and to gain more Clients, in order to make his Fortune, he cloaks or conceals from the Court any thing that makes against his Client: By that means, when he pleads on the wrong side, as *one* always does, the Court is frequently led into a Labyrinth; and, by the Ingenuity of one Side and Weakness of the other, may be easily misled to decree contrary to Equity: Whence come our Appeals and Re-hearings.

But if, in place of *Fees* (save in making *Draughts of Deeds, &c.*) such *Salaries*, as I have mentioned, were established for a proper determinate Number of *licensed pleading Lawyers*; which wou'd be sufficient Encouragement to study the Law; were their Places given them *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; were none promoted but according to Merit; and, upon each Vacancy, were some of the most considerable for Character, Capacity, and Knowledge of the Laws, recommended by the *Judges* and *College of Lawyers* to the Government, in order to have one chosen from among them to supply the Vacancy; who, upon his Admittance, shou'd take an Oath in these or the like Terms:

“ To

“ To the best of his Ability, to advise be-
 “ twixt Party and Party, so as Justice may be
 “ obtained and Property preserved: Never to
 “ advance any thing to the Court as Fact,
 “ which he has not sufficient Reason to believe
 “ to be such: But, as much as he can, to assist
 “ the Court in bringing Truth to Light.”

Were an *adequate* Punishment ordered to be
 inflicted upon any Person convicted of *giving*
in a false Plea, or making a false Defence,
 knowing it to be such; as also for *Bribery* ei-
 ther in the Giver or Receiver; were both Lawy-
 ers and Clients obliged to *purge themselves of*
Bribery by Oath; this, or some such Regulati-
 on, including also *Attorneys and Sollicitors*, (to
 prevent their false Representations to Lawyers)
 wou'd shorten Law Suits, and prevent many
vexatious Ones: Lawyers, for their own sakes,
 would dispatch the Causes before them, to a-
 void unnecessary Trouble: And, by this means,
 would that *Learned Body*, so necessary to pre-
 serve our Rights, our Liberty and Property, be
 separated from the *Needy and Selfish*, who stu-
 dy Law for a Trade. In like manner would
 the honest Attorneys and Sollicitors be distin-
 guished from those who love to fish in muddy
 Waters for private Gain, who are the *PEST* of
Society, and the greatest *Nusance* to our Con-
 stitution, in setting Neighbours together by the
 Ears, and occasioning the Ruin of many Fami-
 lies.

lies, as well as a great many Perjuries and Corruptions, which are the natural Consequences of Law Suits as they are now managed. To prevent vexatious Law Suits, when Law would be so cheap; let the *Old Roman SPONSIO* be introduced.

The Removal, or even the bare lessening of these Evils, would have a happy Tendency towards mending our *Morals* and promoting Industry. For not only, *Property* would be secured at a less Expence and in less time; and no Encouragement given to *Chicanry* or *Quirks of Law*, no *special Pleadings*, *Cant of Fines* and *Recoveries*, &c. but it would also banish all *Country Solicitors*, *Attorneys* and *Pettyfoggers*, out of Society, by leaving them nothing to do: And those, who lay themselves out now to disturb their Neighbours, having none to countenance them, must then live by their own Industry, and apply themselves to some Art or Science that would redound to the Good of the Common-wealth.

There would be, then, no Occasion to have our Laws and Law Terms in an unknown Tongue; our *Writs*, *Processes*, &c. in a Language and Character not easily understood or read.

Our *Law French* is a Language peculiar to that Profession; of such a Nature, one can neither understand any other Books by it, nor speak to be understood. *Law Latin*, as it is now

written, is full as bad: And *Court-Hand* more unintelligible than *either*.

Very often a poor laborious Man is made a Prisoner for no other Reason, but that neither *he*, nor any of his Neighbours can understand or read any thing in a *sham Writ* produced to him. But were the *Proceedings* in Law plain and obvious: in most Cases a Man would be his own Attorney; and use others, only in difficult Cases, and as *Clerks in Offices* and *Registries* which may be deemed necessary.

It would be well for the Honest and Industrious Subject, if the Judges in all our Courts were Judges in Equity as well as Law. How hard is it, for a Man to be obliged to go thro' all the Proceedings and Tryals at Common Law, and afterwards be led a Dance in *Equity*, and perhaps back again to *Common Law*? which is, in short, fighting thro' all the Weapons, before he can come at his Right: And by the Time he gets it, the Value is spent and perhaps more. But, were they all Judges in *Equity*; they would have a Latitude of determining, and be able to punish those Offenders, who are so cunning as to evade the Laws: And any Person agrieved might have a *Re-hearing* before all the Judges, and from thence an *Appeal* to the *Legislature*. All small Crimes against the Peace, or Property of any Person, ought to be tried and determined, in the District the Parties live in, in a limited Time; not obliging the Parties to look
for

for Justice at a Distance, or to meet with unnecessary Delays, which wastes their Time, and is a Publick Loss and Disadvantage.

Then, only the more weighty and intricate Affairs and great Crimes wou'd be left to the higher Courts to determine

A limited Time also shou'd be appointed ; within which all Suits ought to be determined. How unreasonable is it ? That, by a Tryal of eight or ten Hours, one must be determined in a Capital Case, where Life is at Stake : And in a Suit where *Property* is concern'd, he shall be delayed for eight or ten Years or longer ; until perhaps twice the Value of the Thing sued for be spent ; so much Time lost, which might be employed to the Good of the Publick ; a Breach kept up betwixt the nearest Friends and Neighbours ; and a contentious Spirit raised, which may attend them to their Graves.

It would therefore be a publick Advantage, to have two or three Years at the utmost allowed, and no more, to determine the most intricate Cases : And that *no Plaintiff*, after commencing his Suit, shou'd be allowed to put off his Tryal, without an unavoidable Necessity ; tho' the Defendant might have a reasonable Time allowed him for his Defence, and to bring in his Witnesses, and that as short as the Nature of the Case wou'd bear, to be left to the Discretion of the Court, not to exceed

the Time limited by the *Legislature* : That all Demands shou'd be made within a certain Number of Years ; except in Case of *Minority*, *Coverture*, or *being out of the Kingdom*. This last, if I mistake not ; is, in some Measure, already provided for by our Legislature.

No *Oversight*, *Mistake*, *False Plea* or *Defence*, shou'd in any Case be a Loss to the Party, or delay his Cause, where the Judge finds he has Justice on his Side : And upon all such Occasions, he shou'd assist the Innocent and Weak against his more cunning and powerful Adversary.

All *Contracts*, *Conveyances*, *Deeds*, *Wills*, &c. shou'd be made as concise and in as plain, easy and obvious Terms as possible ; and construed according to the Intention of the Parties contracting, conveying, &c. where it can be known. The LEGISLATURE ought to establish the *Forms* of such *Instruments*, as far as possible. Proper *Registries* ought also to be kept, in the most convenient Places : At the nearest Distance, for *small* Concerns ; and for *greater*, in the Capital City.

So much, in Relation to *Property* and *small Crimes* in general, As to such Crimes as are *Capital*, a due Time ought to be given, as well to make *Innocence* appear, as to prevent the *Guilty* from escaping : And also a Time limited, wherein the accused shou'd submit to Tryal, or otherwise be deem'd convicted of the Crime which

which he was accused of. This wou'd prevent the Guilty, from *spiriting* away the Witnesses against him ; and, from abating the Zeal of the Prosecutor: By which Means, notorious Offenders very often escape.

As those Laws are very merciful and commendable ; by which the Guilty are not to be convicted, but by the UNANIMOUS Consent of twelve discerning impartial Neighbours, who have a *Stake in their Country* : So, great Care ought to be taken in RETURNING of *those*. And, it wou'd be well, were no Person intrusted with so great a Power; but a discretionary Number of the District obliged to attend at all Tryals, *one Half* or *two Thirds* in their Lot or Turn; and to have their Names taken or drawn by Lot, in open Court, at the Time of Tryal : And if any be excepted against for reasonable Cause shewn, then to draw out of the Remainder till the Number be compleated. By this Means, the notorious Corruptions and Briberies, in RETURNING *Juries*, wou'd be prevented : The *Innocent*, protected in their Lives and Properties : And the *Guilty*, be brought to Justice. This wou'd, in a great Measure, prevent Crimes ; by making it difficult for either Money or Friends to stop the Course of Justice. The JURORS ought to weigh very nicely the Characters of the Witnesses, when Oaths are contradictory : And where it is difficult

ficult to find out the Truth, "they shou'd
" always incline to the *Scale of Mercy*".

The next Care of the *Government*; after they have settled their own Manner of acting, in preserving the *Peace* and *Property* of the *Society*; is "to inculcate into the Members of it, " especially the Youth, the Necessity and " Beauty of MORAL VIRTUE": For which Reason, the greatest Care ought to be taken of the Education of Youth; that they may timely imbibe the Principles of *true Morality*, upon which the Good and Welfare of Society depend. This is the Support of *Natural* and *Revealed* Religion; and the Foundation of all good Actions in the State. As *Actions*, and not *Thoughts*, are the Object of *Government*, and subject to the coercive Power of Men: No *Words* or *Doctrines*; except such as, either apparently or by necessary Consequence, do break the Harmony and Peace of the State; come properly under their Cognizance: And such Offences, the State has a Right to punish, in its Subjects.

REVEALED RELIGION, as such, is an Object of Faith, or firm Perswasion in our Minds: Men can therefore have no coercive Power over the Conscience in Matters of Revelation; nor can they command us to believe or disbelieve, or punish for either, unless such Belief occasions our committing some immoral Action; and then it is more properly the
Action

Action or Doctrine perswading to it, that the *Civil Power* punishes. Nevertheless *the Government* have a Right of recommending and encouraging, by temporal Advantages in the State, the CHRISTIAN REVELATION; as being found to have the greatest Influence over our Actions and, by the strongest Ties, to enforce Obedience to the Dictates of *Natural Religion*: But they have no Right to punish those, who believe otherwise; if they do nothing contrary to the Peace and Welfare of the Society.

In Consequence of this; "all *established Religion*, considered *only as established*, is a "Creature of the State": It being appointed, amended, altered or thrown out at the Pleasure of the Legislature; who have established it as to its temporal Advantages in the State. And no Religion, without the Consent of the Legislature, has a Right to any temporal Advantages in the Society; nor is it entitled to any thing more than the voluntary Contributions of those, who confide in its Teachers, and believe them capable of instructing them in the Way that leads to future Happiness. If so; since all Men, who set up to teach and pretend to a Capacity and Power of leading others to future Happiness, must have a very considerable Influence over their Hearers and Followers: The State ought to be very careful, into whose Hands they put so great a Trust.

Trust. And when they establish any Body of Men, by the Sanction of the Laws, with such temporal Advantages to themselves and Power over their Followers as may add a greater Weight to their Doctrines: They ought to be sure, that the chief Tendency of their Doctrines be; next to adoring ALMIGHTY GOD; to promote the Happiness and Peace of the Community and each Member of it, and to shew their Hearers: That the Beauty and Life of Religion consist in Morality, which teaches them a benign and humane Behaviour to all Mankind, and makes each Member of the State an Object of their Love and Concern: that a furious ungoverned Zeal, of bringing over others to their Opinion and Belief by Threats, ill Usage or Force, tends to nothing but Confusion in the Society or Convulsions in the State; banishes all the social Vertues, and may *harden* or make Hypocrites, but never produce one sincere Profelyte to their Opinion: that on the contrary, a tender Concern for the Happiness of their Neighbours and Fellow-Subjects, and a manifest sincere Desire of convincing their Understandings; will (by producing a good Opinion of the Design) enable the others to throw off their Prejudice by degrees, and lay themselves open to Conviction. By this Means, a beautiful Harmony wou'd be preserved in the State; and *Truth* must at last, by removing Prejudice, prevail beyond all Opposition.

As the Happiness of Society does, next under GOD, chiefly depend on the Education of Youth : The State, in this, ought to have the tenderest Regard. And since, in every Nation, there are Persons of very different Opinions ; it will be proper to consider, how far the State may conveniently act, in the Education of Youth, with respect to the Diversity of Opinions in Parents.

It will be allowed ; that Parents have an *inherent* Right in the Preservation, Nurture and Education of their Children; untill they are of an Age capable of acting for themselves, and of being ruled by their own Reason. It is their Duty, in such Education, to teach them all such Things, and instill into them all such Principles, as are necessary for their future Well-being and Happiness. This they may do ; by Advice, Admonition and Correction, in all Matters of Belief or Opinion (as well as Practice) not contrary to the Good of Society.

The State also has a Right, in the Education of Youth : And may oblige all Parents, according to their Ability, to instruct their Children, or appoint others for their Instruction, in the Knowledge of moral Duties cognizable by the State ; and to educate them, in the Knowledge and Practice of the social VIRTUES so necessary to the Good of Society ; as also in such bodily Exercises and industrious Calling,

Calling, Employment or Trade, as may rebound to the Good of the Common-Wealth.

Hence it follows : That, in the Education of Youth, the State has a Power of appointing Schools for teaching them the Knowledge of *Natural* Religion, which is the Foundation and Substance of practical *Revealed* Religion, and upon which the Happiness of Society depends. But, they may not well impose Points of *pure Speculation*, upon those, whose Parents are of a different Perswasion : Otherwise, all States, where a pretended spurious Revelation (as that of Mahomet) is the establish'd Religion, wou'd be justified in their Usurpation over Conscience; and Christian Parents wou'd be either deprived of their Right in taking Care of the Education of their Children, or forced to abandon their Country, to the great Detriment of the State.

The Principles of Religion taught, in the publick Education of Youth, might be few, easy and obvious : Shewing them ; that Man is formed a rational Creature, who depends intirely upon the Will of ALMIGHTY GOD his Creator ; that they ought to adore and worship him, who can be but *One*, is *Infinite*, *Independent* and *Supreme* ; that they ought to consider him as absolutely perfect, and endeavour to approach him in his imitable Perfections : That, in this, they are to judge by the best of their Reason and Informations from others. When any thing is proposed to them,

as a Commandment revealed from G O D to be obeyed as his Will : That they ought to examine it by Reason ; and, if they find it conformable to the Perfection of the *Deity*, obey it. When they find such Things laid before them, as the Will of God ; which, upon the Whole, are for the Advancement of his Glory and the Good of Mankind ; wherein, nothing is contradictory to Truth and Reason, tho' something may be in it above the Reach of their Understandings : Yet, if there be sufficient Evidence, to convince their Reason, that it is his Will ; they ought to keep such, as infallible Rules of Conduct.

The Doctrines and Principles, that Tutors most carefully instill in the Education of Youth ; should be such as are most necessary to be believed, in order to inforce such *Practice* as is for the Good of the Community : And, those *Speculative* Points and *School Distinctions*, in all different Sects and Denominations of Religion thro' the World, which serve only to im-bitter the Tempers of Mankind and to encrease Enmity among them, ought not to be instilled into Youth ; that Prejudice may be prevented, if possible ; and, when divine Truths are proposed, their Minds be open to rational Conviction. For, by this Means, inforcing practical Religion, which is absolutely necessary for the Good of Society, and in which the coercive Power of the Government is to be

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chiefly

chiefly exerted ; Truth must necessarily prevail, they having no Inducement to sway them to Error by Prejudice, and they cannot offend against the Precepts of Morality, so far as it concerns the State, without falling under the Lash of the State.

I don't design, by this, to suppose that the Government may not rightfully encourage Youth to come to such Schools, as may bring them up in the established Religion of the State ; 'tis plain, that they *ought* to do it.' 'Tis only meant ; that they have not a compelling Power of obliging Parents, of a different Religion, to send their Children to those Schools ; provided, that they give them such Education as has been before directed.

The Step next to be taken ; after forming the *Minds* of Youth, to the Service of God and their Country ; is to form their *Bodies* by such Exercises, as may enable them to defend their Country and Property ; and, at the same Time, to teach them such Arts and Sciences, according to their different Qualifications and the Ability of their Parents, as may make them industrious and able to promote the Wealth and Power of the Society. By this Means ; a new Generation wou'd spring up, endowed with such great and good Qualifications, as wou'd make their own State safe, happy and great, and wou'd promote, by their Benignity, the Welfare and Happiness of all the neighbouring Countries.

Let us next consider, *what will further contribute to make a Nation happy, safe and opulent: By what Means, they may best defend their own Rights and enlarge their Power, so as to be able to assist their Allies and promote the common Welfare of Mankind.* To that End, the following *Postulates* may be safely allowed.

1st. "It is not *the Extent of a Country*, nor "Quantity of Land; tho' of the richest Soil, "and best Climate; that is the Cause of a State's "being powerful and opulent; but *the Number of the Inhabitants.*"

2^d. "Notwithstanding that, Number of Inhabitants is absolutely necessary to make a "State great and opulent: Yet if proper "Laws be not made, and duly executed, to "keep all the Inhabitants constantly employ'd "according to their different Orders and Stations, allowing proper Days and Intervals "for the Relaxation of Mind and Body; "that State, tho' never so populous, may be "indigent and needy and not so capable of "defending it self, as a State (falling far short "of it in Numbers) where Industry is their "chief Care."

Consequently it ought to be a chief Care of the Government; to increase the Numbers of the People, and to find Employment for all the Members of the State. And those States; that

that apply their Care most in finding out and promoting proper Trades and Manufactures to employ the Poor and encourage Industry ; and make and execute proper Laws, in order thereunto ; will be able to preserve their Liberties religious and civil, and possess their Properties, when others less carefull will fall under the Power of their Enemies and sink into Slavery.

The State therefore ought to take all proper Methods to *encourage Marriage*, especially among the Industrious and Poor : And where any of those have a great Number of Children ; they might be rewarded by the Publick, and have their Taxes lessened. Nor wou'd it be amiss, if old Batchelors were obliged to contribute towards the Maintenance of some of them ; as a Penalty on them for not increasing the Power of the State in a *legal Way*. Many, thro' the Temptation of Youth, &c. are begotten illegally ; and by the Barbarity of their Parents, to avoid the Shame, are destroyed at the Birth : Since there is a *publick Loss*, in this Case, added to the Sin ; the *State* ought, as much as may be, to prevent that cruel and base Practice. This may be done ; by appointing proper Houses in great Towns, to receive and take Care of those Infants ; such as *L' Hôpital des Enfants trouvez* in Paris ; whilst the Parents remain unknown, and are, by that Means, free'd from the Shame which occasions others to commit so barbarous a Fact.

Some

Some may think this wrong, because it seems an Encouragement to *Whoredom*: Yet, as that falls far short of the Sin of *Murder*, and towards the Publick is a much less Crime; a greater Evil is hereby prevented: Besides *Whoredom* and its ill Consequences may be guarded against by other Laws. 'Tis certain that this shameful Vice (even when the unlawful Issue is not destroyed) tends less to the Increase of the Numbers of the People, than Marriage to one Woman; Witness, the Polygamy allowed of in some other Countries: And generally less Care is taken of the Education of such Issue: It also destroys a Man's Peace and Quiet; squanders his Substance; shortens Life; wastes Time; ruins the Constitution; and enervates the whole Man. To check and discourage therefore, as much as may be, this pernicious and deceitful Vice: Proper Laws may be made; such as the following.

" That any Person, exceeding a certain Age judged reasonable by the Legislature, who shou'd debauch any Woman or Girl, of a fair Character in the World, not before stained with a Blemish of this Kind; shou'd be obliged to marry such Person, unless in case of great Difference of Family or Fortune, whereby the Marriage State wou'd be made miserable. That, in this last Case, the Person offending shou'd, out of his Fortune, allow

“ low her a reasonable Sum of Money, such
 “ as might marry her to one in her own Sta-
 “ tion: And not throw her upon the Pub-
 “ lick, as is generally done; which makes the
 “ Woman void of Shame, and prompts her to
 “ assist in betraying others into the same Way
 “ of Living. The Man shou’d also take Care
 “ of the Child; and provide for it’s Educa-
 “ tion, so far as, to make it a useful Member
 “ of the Commonwealth”.

The next great Care of the State: After gi-
 ving due Encouragement to the Increase of
 the People, preserving their Lives and Pro-
 perties, and taking Care of the Education of
 Youth: Is, *to employ them*; to oblige them to
 be *Industrious*; and, for that End, to encour-
 age *Arts and Sciences, Trade and Manufac-*
tures, and all Things in general, that may
 keep the Society employed in their Minds
 and Bodies in Things useful for the Publick.
 In order to which; are the following Positions,
 which may be allowed true.

1st. “ There are none in Society (except *I-*
 “ *deots, Lunaticks, Aged, or Persons confined*
 “ *to their Beds by incurable Distempers*) but
 “ who may maintain themselves in Whole or
 “ in Part, and be of Use to the Society; if a
 “ due coercive Power be exercised over them.”

2^d. “ The

2d. "The *lame*, the *blind*, the *infirm*, and *sick by Intervals*, are not adequate Objects of the Charity of the laborious and rich Members of the Community: Unless they employ themselves in what things they are capable of doing towards their own Maintenance, and what may be reasonably expected from them; upon proper Materials being given them, to that end."

3dly. "The *Lazy sturdy Vagrants*, who go about with Numbers of Children, or with pretended Disorders and Infirmities; and those who *distort* themselves or their Children, that they may seem more miserable, in order to excite Compassion and procure Alms: do, by that means, continue a Generation of miserable helpless Wretches, or of idle vagrant Beggars and often concealed Thieves and Robbers. These therefore, as much as any, are the Pest and Bane of Society: and do very often cool the Charity of well inclined People to the truly indigent and poor, they not being able to distinguish the true from the false."

These things being allowed: is it not highly incumbent upon the Legislature, and, I may say, absolutely necessary for the Good of the State: to distinguish and separate these several

kinds of Persons ; by appointing proper Places, at reasonable Distances, for the *first*, and providing them all things necessary for their Subsistence ; by providing proper Work-houses for the *second*, and Materials whereby each might be capable of doing somewhat for his Maintenance ; and by having proper Places of Correction for the *third* sort, which might bring them to be laborious and useful Members of the Community.

I can't think this impracticable ; or of any great Expence to the Publick in the Execution. It may be done ; by taking all *Vagrants* to the Place of their Birth, or last Habitation before they turned Vagrants ; and subdividing the *Counties* into *Districts*, more or fewer, according to the Largeness of the *Counties* and *Baronies* ; for as Parishes are now divided, some are much larger than others, both as to Extent and Number of the Inhabitants. In each of these *Districts*, may be established a *Society* elected annually for the Care of the Poor ; also a *Poor-house*, a *Work-house*, and *House of Correction*, with such a Proportion of Ground for Gardening, as would employ some of the Hands, and assist in maintaing them : And such Materials should be laid in, by the Inhabitants of each *District*, that each of the Poor might be employed in doing something towards their common Maintenance. The Magistrates and Clergy, in each *District*, might supervise and take care,

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care, from time to time, that the *Overseers* did Justice to the Poor, and kept them to their Work; and a Power might be given them, to raise annually in their several *Districts* a *Præmium* to the *Overseer*, upon executing his Trust aright; and to remove or continue him, according to his Behaviour. All the Benefit of their Work should go to their own Maintenance. Thus the great Charge, so much fear'd, of the *Poor-Tax*, would be kept very low, and scarce be felt upon several Accounts; but particularly, upon the following: *The coercive Power of obliging them to work according to their Abilities; and the Certainty of a well-dispos'd Charity, to those who are willing to give.* If any *District* be oppressed with Poor; to take off those exceeding their Proportion, let there be a *Barony Poor-house*, &c. to be kept at the Charge of the *Barony*: and so from the several *Barony-houses*, the Overplus may be removed to a *County house*: From the *County-house*, to one for the *Province* or the *whole Kingdom*. Thus, wou'd none be overburthened. The Number of the Poor wou'd, by this means, be much lessen'd; being made up, principally, of the sturdy and lazy *Vagrants*; when they wou'd find themselves obliged to work for their Bread.

After all the Poor were thus settled and disposed of, in proper Classes: Any Person who wou'd give Alms to any *vagrant Beggar*, upon Information and Conviction, should be *fin'd* in

Proportion to his Ability; Half to the Informer, and Half to the Poor of the District in which he lived, or in which it was given. In the same manner, ought they to be fined; who harbour and conceal, or countenance any Person, who has no visible Way of Maintenance; whether he be a common Beggar, or one of those who go about thieving, cheating, and living upon the Laborious; giving no good Account of their Way of getting their Livelihood: And in case, upon Proof, any Person in the Neighbourhood be found to know any such to be entertained, yet gives no Information; he ought to be fined in like manner as the Person who entertained him.

By this, and such like Methods, the Poor would be set to Work, and kept to it; And the Industrious would be more encouraged; by having their Properties better secured against the wicked, and the idle and sturdy Vagrants; and, what is given in Charity being well applied, they then might hope, upon any Misfortune or Distemper falling upon them, in their Old Age, to have a comfortable Subsistence; which must be a strong Incitement to Labour and Industry, that charitable Provision being apportioned according to their Merits.

After thus promoting the Increase of the Inhabitants, and employing them: the next Care of the State ought to be; *to keep Provisions at an equitable Price, betwixt the Provider or Husband-*

bandman who deals in Tillage and Grazing, and the Consumer who principally lives by his Trade and Manufacture. For, since *both* are absolutely necessary to the Well-being of the State: the *Husband-man* ought to have a sufficient Reward for his Care, Trouble, and Improvement of his Land; and the *Tradesman* and *Artificer* ought not to pay too dear for his Provisions, so as not to subsist well upon his Wages or Trade in which he employs himself.

It is, therefore, pernicious in a State to have Provisions too cheap as well as too dear: for, this discourages the *Husband-man*, and is an Obstacle to all Improvement of Land; begets Sloth in the *Tradesman* and *Manufacturer*; and makes the whole Community idle and negligent.

If so; then, the State ought to take all prudent Methods of keeping the Markets at an equitable Price: for, whenever they fall too low, or rise too high, one Part or other of the Society suffers.

In this View, let us consider: *first*, “Kingdoms that can supply themselves with sufficient Quantities of Provisions, of their own Produce, one Year with another; *in the next Place*, those who have a Redundancy; and *lastly*, those who are obliged to their neighbouring States for a Supply.”

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In the *first* of these Cases ; it is entirely wrong in the State, to export any in plentiful Years : unless there be high Prices going, abroad ; and they can reasonably expect Provisions from their Neighbours, at a lower Price, in a bad Season, when they must be supplied from abroad ; for then the Nation will be a Gainer upon the Whole, it is also a Benefit to the Merchant (who ought to be encouraged) and increases Trade and Navigation.

In the *second* case, where there is a *Redundancy* : the State ought not to encourage an Exportation, when the Markets abroad are below the reasonable *Medium* which may be expected *communibus annis* ; but rather give Encouragement to keep it at Home, till the Markets rise above that *Medium* : by which means, they would be able to supply their Neighbours with the same Quantity, at a higher Price.

In the *third* case ; Imports ought to be made as great as possible, when the Markets are at the lowest abroad, tho' in greater Quantity than is necessary : that the State may not be obliged to buy, when the Markets rise abroad.

It may be ask'd, in the first and second cases ; *How will that keep up the Markets at Home ?*

In order to do this : *in the first case*, there might be *Præmiums* allowed ; sufficient to encourage People to build Granaries, in proper places for Export or to supply the Markets at Home :
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these *Præmiums* should be given, at the rate of *so much a Barrel*, to all who would supply the Granaries, whenever the Markets should fall below the *Medium* you would keep them at; and the Owners of the Granaries should be obliged to supply the Markets at Home, whenever they rose above the highest Price which the State should think convenient for the Good of the Community.

For instance: in case, the reasonable *Medium* for *Wheat* should be allowed to be from Twelve to Fourteen Shillings *per Barrel*; whenever the Markets fell below that, then to give the *Præmium*; and whenever the Markets rose above *twenty Shillings per Barrel*, then to oblige them to sell at or under that Price, whilst they had any in their Granaries. To prevent Fraud, let all be sold by Weight.

In the *second case*, where the Country has a *Redundancy*: let the *Præmium* be given as above, when the Markets fall below the *Medium*; and they ought not to be allowed to sell it for Exportation, but when the Markets abroad shall be above the reasonable *Medium*, so that the Nation and Merchants may be sufficient Gainers. The *Husbandman*, in both these cases, would be encouraged to go on with his Tillage; and the *Artificer* and *Tradesman*, have Provisions at an equitable Price.

This Regulation would have the following good Effects.

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In the *first* case ; they would not be obliged to sell cheap to their Neighbours in plentiful Years, and buy dear when in want. In the *second* ; they would always make the most of the Markets abroad. In the *third* ; they would always be supplied, after the cheapest manner ; and sometimes re-import to their Neighbours with Advantage.

After thus providing Laws for keeping the Peace, preserving Property, Education of Youth, encreasing the Numbers, employing and taking care of the Poor, and settling the Rate of Provisions upon an equitable Footing : the next thing, to be considered, is **TRADE** ; as tending to make a Nation rich and happy ; and without which, even all these other Advantages already mentioned will not be sufficient. Navigation and Commerce are the *Life* and *Soul* of Society, in Things relating to this Life : they enlarge our Knowledge of Persons and Things, relieve our Wants, and give us the Advantages and Benefit of every Climate. They join the most distant Regions, to their mutual Profit : they make even our *Antipodes* to be our Neighbours ; and to assist us in Things proper for our Health, Food and Raiment, with Elegance and Variety. They provide us with Materials, for carrying on our Manufactures : enlarge our Ideas and Conceptions of things : and bring us acquainted with the Products of all the Countries of the Earth. By help of these,

we have the Advantage of the Inventions and Improvements of every Nation: And every Man is enabled, according to his Ingenuity, to do something for his own Benefit; and to assist his Neighbour, in doing what may make his Life more happy and easy. Whereas, were there no *Trade*; every one must subsist by the Labour of his own Hands, and have little more than the bare Necessaries of Life. Since, then, *Trade* is absolutely necessary to the Well-being of a Nation: Let us briefly consider; what Methods are most useful for the Increasing and carrying on of Trade, and how it will become most advantageous to any People.

TRADE, in general, is an *Exchange or Truck, of such Things as any particular Person or Nation has to spare, with another Person or Nation, for what is wanted from that other*. In this Exchange great Difficulties and Inconveniences must at first have arisen; for want of a general *Standard or Measure*, by which to regulate the Value of each thing exchanged. This would soon put People in search of a Remedy: And at last; by the common Consent of most Nations; *Gold and Silver* have been made that *Standard and Measure*, by help of which, one Commodity is compared with another. This common Consent seems to have taken its Rise from the Scarcity of those Metals; their not being so liable to rust and decay, as others are; and their being capable of

receiving and retaining such Impressions, as might make their Weight and Value more easily and readily known. By comparing each Commodity with this, a Price was more easily fixed upon it ; and so, Trade made more easy. By the Scarcity and little Bulk of these Metals ; Merchants cou'd more easily transfer their Effects to any Country or Market, where they had any Trade. As this Measure or Commodity was not liable to Decay or Corruption: Any Person cou'd sell any of his Goods, which were perishable, to another who wanted, and take the Gold or Silver in Exchange ; at his Leisure furnishing himself with what he wanted, without being obliged to carry any Thing with him (to *Truck* for it) which perhaps the other might not want. This seems to be the first Rise of Money : Without which, or a Credit of like Nature, no Nation can carry on a Trade to Advantage. For, if there be not a sufficient Quantity of it, to supply the Markets, and make ready Payment betwixt Buyer and Seller ; *Trade* must necessarily flag and go on very heavily, and *Trucking* with all its Inconveniences again take Place. Since, then, Gold and Silver are fixt the Standard ; and the *proportion* of their Values to each other varies, according to the greater Plenty or Scarceness of either of them : To make it an equitable Standard ; their respective Value to each other shou'd have the same Proportion in all Countries ;
then

then every Person wou'd save what he now loses to the *private Exchanger*.

For Instance, *Gold* in *Ireland* is about *one per Cent* higher than *Silver*, according to their Value in the neighbouring Countries: Consequently as Payments are made in the one, or in the other, about *one per Cent* is gain'd or lost; the Loss generally falling upon the Poor, who don't know the Difference; but to those, who know it and are Gainers, the Crime is certainly the same as to buy and sell with Measures of different Lengths or Capacities.

Since upon the Whole then, Money is so necessary to carry on Trade: It will be useful to consider, *what it is that occasions the Plenty or Scarceness of Money in any Country*.

It is a very great Mistake; to think that the raising or lowering the Value of Money, occasions a Nation's being richer and having a greater Quantity of it or otherwise. It is true; a Nation, by raising the Value of Money, may occasion a *Run* of it inwards for some Time: But it will be attended with a terrible *Draw-back*. For then, Money must be considered as a foreign Commodity, of which you have raised the Price, by making it dearer than it is in any foreign Market; consequently they will run it in, and, with the same Sum, buy up a greater Quantity of Goods than they cou'd have done before it was raised: And, by that Means, the Price of the *Exports* from the Kingdom

dom is lower'd ; or otherwise, the Price of Provisions, Manufactures, &c. must be raised in Proportion to the raising of the Coin, and then they won't import the Gold and Silver. In such a Case ; the whole landed Interest and those who receive Money wou'd be Losers : For, they wou'd receive the same *nominal* Sum ; with which they cou'd not buy the same Quantity, of any Thing they wanted, as formerly. For Instance : Upon a *Crown's* being raised to *ten Shillings* ; the Proportion of the Loss being as the Difference of the Values ; were any Person to receive a *hundred Pounds per Annum*, he wou'd then receive in effect but *fifty Pounds* ; for with his *hundred* he cou'd buy no more than he formerly did for *fifty* : And if the Markets did not rise in Proportion to the Coin, but kept low ; then, for each *hundred* Pound sent into the Country, *two hundred* Pounds worth of Goods wou'd go out ; and so other Nations wou'd have them for half Value. Thus, whatever the Coin is raised, the Loss will be in Proportion to it. Consequently whatever Goods are exported, going out at an Undervalue, they will not return the same Quantity of Goods from abroad as formerly : And then the Money must be again remitted, as it passes in other Countries, to buy up what is further wanted from abroad. The Nation, by that Means, must become Bankrupt in a short Time.

It is not then, the Lowering or Raising the Coin, which occasions Money's being plenty or scarce; but the *Ballance of Trade's* being in Favour of a Nation or otherwise. If the Value of Goods exported, be more than of those imported, at the End of the Year; then, the Return to that Nation must be made in Money: And so, on the contrary.

What great Care, then, ought we and every Nation to take; to encourage, in a particular Manner, all those Kinds of Manufacture which the neighbouring Countries may have the greatest Desire for: And, in those Branches, to endeavour to have the greatest Variety possible, that the Markets abroad may not be glutted: By that Means we cou'd sell at a higher Price. We shou'd also encourage all those Manufactures, now used *from Abroad*, to be made and improv'd *at Home*; and discourage all foreign expensive Commodities from being used at Home, as much as may be with Consistence to the Alliances and Trade with neighbouring States: The Consequence of which wou'd be, the preserving *the Ballance* in our Favour; by making our Exports to exceed our Imports; and, by that Means, encreasing the Quantity of our Coin, which necessarily lowers the Interest of our Money. For when there are more who have Money to lend, than there are Persons who have occasion to borrow; they beat the Price down upon one another.

another, and take less Interest rather than let their Money lie by them. This still increases our Trade : For were Interest reduced to *three* or *four per Cent* ; the Merchant wou'd be then as much a Gainer by gaining *six per Cent*, as he is now by *ten per Cent*.

Consequently, because the Value of Land rises, in Proportion as Interest falls : Each Person possess'd of Land, will chuse to purchase upon his own Land, by improving it ; rather than lay out his Money at a low Interest, or purchase Lands at *forty* or *fifty Years Purchase*. Each Acre, so improved, is an Addition to the Riches of the State : Whereas, by the present Purchases of Lands, only the Property is altered and a particular Person grows greater ; but the Publick is no Gainer.

As the *lowering of Interest* is an Advantage to Trade ; by enabling the Merchants to venture for less Gain, and by making Freight easier in *foreign Trade* : So, if our *Roads* were better and shorter ; our *Home-Trade* wou'd find the Benefit, by our Land Carriage becoming easier and cheaper.

For this Reason, a proper Method ought to be taken ; to shorten and amend our Roads, at the least Charge. In this, there is an Example before us, in several Countries : Which is the *old Roman Military Ways*, wherein they employed their Soldiers in Time of Peace. After the same Manner, might we amend our Roads

Roads: The Publick be a Gainer : And the Army not displeased ; it wou'd only be an Exercise for them, to keep them hardy and fit for Service.

To this End, after a proper Survey of the *Post* and other *great Roads* : The Army might be employed, in the Summer-time, in levelling and shortening them ; whilst the several Parishes, by their *six Days Labour*, shou'd bring them Stones and Gravel where wanting. The several Counties, instead of the Money now laid out upon Roads which, at best, are only slubber'd over ; might raise as much Money, as wou'd buy them Shoes, Stockings, and Frocks, to save their Livery ; and also allow them additional Pay, whilst they wrought ; and a Gratuity to the Officer, who wou'd oversee them. There is no doubt, each Officer and Party of Men wou'd vie with each other, who shou'd make the finest and most lasting Roads : It being a Work of so great Consequence to the Publick. As a standing *Memorial* of those great Benefactors to the whole Nation ; the Roads might bear the Name of the *Corps* that made them. By this Means, the County wou'd be at very little more Charge, than now ; when scarce any thing is done, for their Money. This is what, 'tis probable, no County wou'd grudge to give : And the Army wou'd not think themselves ill used in it.

Another considerable Advantage to our Trade wou'd

wou'd arise from considering in the laying on of Taxes: *On what Branches of Trade to lay them; how to ease the Merchant, as much as possible, in those Branches that are of most Advantage to the State.*

Taxes are absolutely necessary in all States whatever. Where they are given, by the Consent of the Community; none will grudge to give a Proportion of their Fortune, to preserve the rest with Peace and Satisfaction. 'Tis not only reasonable to give what is absolutely necessary for the Security and Preservation of the Publick at Home, in keeping under such turbulent Spirits as wou'd disturb the Peace of Society; and for keeping up a Power, in Proportion to what Danger may be apprehended from neighbouring States, according to the Situation and Circumstances of each Nation: But also as much more, as may keep up the Dignity and Grandeur, and sweeten and make easy the Weight and Cares of a Crown. And where the Publick Good is the chief Care and Concern of the State, as in ours: None will grudge to give, what is proper for that End and consistent with the Good of the Community. In considering this, it may be premised, as allowed by all: *That the Consumer, is the Person who pays and bears the Burthen of the Tax, in Proportion to what he squanders or consumes.* It is he; who eats, drinks and wears most, or squanders most away in these and other

other Superfluities of Life ; that bears the greatest Part of the Burthen. Let who will first advance the Money ; it centers, at last, with the *Consumer*. The *Merchant* may pay a Tax, for what he *imports* ; The *Artificer*, for what he *makes* ; The *Husbandman*, for what he *raises* ; But each is repayed by the *Consumer*.

Wou'd it not then be better ? To ease the Merchant in all Articles, that may encourage him to export our Commodities and to import such Things as are necessary for us : To take off all such high Duties ; as serve only to encourage *Running* of Goods, to the Prejudice of the fair Dealer ; and prove a Bait, to corrupt the Morals of all who trade : Where a high Duty is laid, in order to discourage any Commodities being imported as being prejudicial to the State ; to lay the Penalty upon the *Consumer* or *Wearer* : And to answer the remaining Demands of the State, by inland Excises. This wou'd, in great Measure, prevent the Fraud in Running of Goods : and make the Payments more certain : And, by laying a greater Proportion of the Taxes upon the *Superfluities*, and less upon the *Necessaries* of Life ; the Burthen wou'd fall, chiefly upon the Extravagant and most useless Members of the Society, and less upon the Poor and Laborious.

So far in Relation to Taxes in *general*. But, in this *particular Nation*, there is something farther to be considered : And that is ; *our being a dependant Kingdom, limited in our Trade*. This must make us widely differ, from other Nations not so circumstanced : And, shou'd make us particularly cautious, in proportioning our Taxes ; for the following Reason. All Taxes, raised in a Nation, and spent again in it, without being sent abroad ; only, circulate thro' the Kingdom : And at the End of the Year, the Nation is never the Poorer : Tho' some particular Persons may feel the Load, yet the Publick is not a Sufferer. But this is not our Case : If Money be raised, more than sufficient to pay our several Establishments ; it is taken out of the Kingdom ; and, at the End of the Year, we are so much the poorer, as what we raise exceeds our Establishment. We are cramped in Trade : and therefore cannot hope, by that, to make good the Deficiency. So that if we ever shou'd inconsiderately raise such Taxes ; as by the constant *Drains, of living in England and remitting our Rents thither* wou'd turn the Ballance against us : We shou'd, in a few Years, become Bankrupt and not able to raise the Taxes we now do ; but be again a Charge to the Crown of *England*, as formerly.

It would be, therefore, a most impolitick Step in us ; and inconsistent with the Interest of

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Great Britain, as well as of *Ireland*, at any time to over-raise our Taxes. If we should once do it: we would be in Danger, never to get rid of them, till we should become insolvent. *England* indeed would reap some small Benefit by it, for a few Years; till we should be entirely drain'd and become Bankrupt: but afterwards it would be attended with Consequences equally fatal to both Kingdoms. Our Trade must fail, for want of Money to carry it on: the *Landed Interest* must decline; Rents and Markets, fall; Tenants, break; Lands, lie waste; and the whole Nation, become miserable. Nay, *Britain* also must suffer: No more Remittances thither; nor Cash sufficient to pay *our own Establishment*. Then we must become a Burthen to them in earnest: the Noblemen and Gentlemen there, who have Estates in *Ireland*, must lose the Benefit of them, in a great measure, by bad Payments and high *Exchange*: we could not then take from *England*, those Quantities of their Manufactures we now do. In short: from a People, happy under the Protection of *Great Britain*, we should become poor and miserable: a latent Poyson would infect the whole Nation; ready to break out, upon the most trifling Occasion. And in Case, by any Misfortune, *Britain* should be embroil'd; nothing could then prevent *Ireland's* attempting to throw off its Dependancy, tho' probably in vain; for it would not be able to defend it self

against any other powerful Neighbour, that should think it worth while to invade and conquer it. So, in the End; *Great Britain* must either waste its Treasures, to keep *Ireland* in Subjection; or quite desert it, and give it up to some powerful, and perhaps unfriendly, Neighbour.

Farther to shew, how inseparable the true Interests of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* are from each other; it may not be improper, to observe here: that it wou'd, in all probability, prove fatal to the Liberty of both: if ever Posterity should so far mistake their true and mutual Interest; as to suffer a Misunderstanding to arise between the two Nations, and thereby occasion *Great Britain* to oppress us in point of our Liberties, and to take from us our Consent to our own Laws and Taxes. Would it not be apt to inspire us with a too fatal Resentment against them? And if we should ever be so unhappy, as to be under a King who would aspire after unlimited Power; which some time ago has been our Case; *Ireland* might be provoked to join him, in subverting the Laws and Liberties of *Great Britain*. Wou'd not the Army, which should then be deemed necessary to preserve *Ireland* in Peace, in the Hands of a bad Prince be made use of in over-powering *Great Britain*? Whilst *Ireland* would either peaceably look on; as not being concerned in the Preservation of *their* Liberties, who had deprived

us of *our's* : or perhaps our Poverty and Misery might make *Ireland* join the Prince, and support him in his Attempt against them : hoping for better Terms ; like Persons drowning, that catch at every thing to save themselves. Poverty and Despair wou'd make Dangers at a Distance appear but Trifles : in comparison of those which immediately affected us : tho' much greater in their own Natures. And thus ; tho' *Ireland* would, in the End, intirely lose its own Liberty : yet, in such a Conjunction, there would be the utmost Danger of its sacrificing that of *Great Britain*, to its Resentment. Were the Case put thus, between one Part of *England* and another ; the probable Result would be the same. The Reason is general ; and extends to all Countries, and Divisions of Countries whatever.

We may, with Pleasure, reflect that this melancholy Scene is at present *imaginary* : Let us do, what in us lies, to prevent the Possibility of its ever becoming *real* ; and convince our Brethren on t'other Side the *Channel*, they may safely confide in us ; as we, in them. To bring this about the more effectually : Let us throw out all Party-distinctions from among us, and explode that vainly popular Cry of *Applause* on setting up a pretended Country-party against the Court, when the Court has no Design of doing us Harm. This creates us Enemies, and gives the Government Reason to believe, that we

we harbour Thoughts of distressing them. In such Cases; a Party is formed purely for the sake of private Views in the *Leading Men*, who only want to make themselves appear considerable: and when they have gained, by these means, what they aim at; they will not scruple to abandon the Party, and leave them to look out for other Heads; who (after using them properly to serve their own Turn) may, in like manner, desert them. Surely, no true Protestant, under so mild and just an Administration, which secures him in the possession of all his Rights Religious and Civil, can have any Intention of bringing in Tyranny and *Romish* Superstition, by unhinging our present happy Establishment. Why then should we unthinkingly, at any Time, even appear to set up such a Party as might seem to oppose the Court merely because it is a Court? Seeing, upon all Accounts, it may be of the most fatal Consequence to *Ireland*. It may occasion a continual Distrust of us; by giving Grounds to imagine, we have further things in View. And if we appear discontented without Cause; instead of receiving Marks of Friendship, we may reasonably expect to be more cramp'd and confined than before. Thus, by the Imprudence of a few, would the whole Nation suffer.

Let all of us therefore shew that we detest all private selfish Views of this kind, so destructive

destructive in their Consequences to the whole Kingdom, and so contrary to all Equity; nay, even to the common Rules of Humanity. Instead of breaking our selves into Parties, let us be unanimous and firm in standing by the true Interest of our Country. As we ought to stand together with Unanimity and Zeal, if Hardships should at any time be put upon us; so, with the same Spirit and united Strength, ought we to stand by and support the *Crown*, which protects us in the Enjoyment of all that's dear to us as Men and Christians.

Let us then always give, with Unanimity and Chearfulness, what is necessary for the Support of the Government: with a prudent Caution not to turn *the Ballance* against us. Thus, we shall preserve that Harmony between the Governours and Governed, so necessary in a well-ordered Community: Each will further the true Interest of the other; and by promoting Unity of Affection among all His Majesty's Subjects, the Publick will enjoy a great and lasting Happiness. If, at any time, by Inadvertence, we should be laid under Difficulties; our Expostulations would be regarded as the Complaints of Friends, and receive certain Redress: Whereas, by forming Parties, to make the Administration uneasy, we break our Union; make the Government jealous of us; by unguarded Behaviour and Expressions, make our Friends unserviceable, and raise up Enemies *on*
t'other

t'other Side the Water. This must unavoidably make all the kind Endeavours of our Friends ineffectual; and such Conduct, if continued, may sooner or later turn to the Ruin of *Ireland*. Since this is the natural Consequence of following such inconsistent Measures: Let us at once give up any one, who shall attempt to divide us; and convince him, we are not so weak as to distress our Country by supporting him in his private selfish Designs. In short; we ought to look upon every Person, who affects to distinguish himself by any *Party Name*, as a weak or an ill designing Brother.

By acting thus, we shall effectually serve our Country: and convince *England*, that when nothing unreasonable is demanded; we will give as much as the Nature of our Trade will bear, without changing *the Ballance* to our Prejudice. Then, we shall be still more capable of being of Benefit to them: we shall not only live happy and easy, but our Trade improving will encrease our Revenue; and employing our Hands, we shall daily take off greater Quantities of their Manufactures, and furnish them with others they now take from Foreigners; our Youth will always follow *the Court*, and throw off what their frugal Parents have been gathering with Care; in short, all our superfluous Wealth will center there. Then we shall not only be able to support the Charge of our *Establishment*, but if ever *England* should be

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embroiled, we would contribute our utmost to assist our elder *Brother* and *Protector*.

Since, then, this is the Difference betwixt *Ireland's* being rich and poor: *England* will doubtless, out of Interest as well as Affection, continue to encourage our Trade in all Branches, which do not immediately interfere with their own; especially in those with which Foreigners supply them. We have no Reason to doubt of this. Have they not indulged us, as much as possible, in the *Linnen* and *Hemp* Manufacture? Don't they allow us to proceed in it our own way, and exert our selves in the Encouragement and Improvement of it? This is a Branch, of great Extent. It will fully employ our Poor; and help to increase our Numbers, so much wanted in most Parts of this Kingdom. Let us but contrive to increase the Variety of the *Linnen* Manufacture; in all its Branches, and several Mixtures which may be wrought up with it: and all we can make, will never be able to glut foreign Markets. It is a Manufacture worn, by all Ranks and Degrees of Persons, from the *Frigid Zone* to the *Equinox*: So as, by it, we may carry on the most extensive Trade: Do they not, at the same time, indulge us in all things we can employ our selves in, for our *Home-Consumption*? Provided; we don't rival them in their *Darling Staple*, the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE. Let us then go hand in hand with them, in promoting their Wealth and Happiness;

piness; and, by that means, encourage them
 to promote our Welfare, as tending to the Good
 of the Whole. Are we not all, Subjects of the
 Crown of *Great Britain*? Have we not the same
 common Father and King? Does not the same
 Blood run in our Veins? Are we not linked to-
 gether, by the strongest Ties and Alliances;
 enjoying the same Liberties Religious and Ci-
 vil; and being alike protected in our Proper-
 ties? Let us then turn our Thoughts upon pro-
 moting a stricter Union betwixt us, if possible;
 an Union, both of Affection and Interest; and
 convince them, we will promote their Welfare
 and Happiness as our own; that we are ready
 and willing to assist them, upon any Emergen-
 cy, as far as our Ability will suffer us, as far
 as is consistent with the Good of the whole
 Community. This will still farther encourage
 them, as well out of Interest as Inclination, to
 promote our Wealth and Happiness: well know-
 ing that the richer we are, the more they will
 be so, since at last it will intirely center with
 them; and the better able we shall be to assist
 them against our common Enemies. Let our
 sole Emulation, with *Britain*, be; which shall
 be most zealous in preserving our present happy
Establishment under his Majesty, and in promo-
 ting the Glory and Happiness of his Reign: that
 all may see, he reigns in the Hearts of his Peo-
 ple, and that their Interests are inseparable.

These

These, I may boldly affirm, are the present Thoughts and fixed Resolutions of all *true* Protestants in *Ireland*. The Prospect; which opened to us, upon his Illustrious Father's being settled on his Throne; is every Day growing more glorious. Since his present Majesty's Accession; we have all the Expectation of Happiness, our Hearts can desire. He is sensible of our Zeal to promote the Glory and Happiness of his Reign: and consults our Welfare so much; he demands no more than he believes we can give, without harming our selves. Let then our Zeal keep Pace with his Goodness; by cultivating a Harmony and stricter Union amongst all the Subjects of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*: and our Happiness will be lasting, as well as great.

So close a Union will be of mutual Benefit to us. We shall then strenuously exert our selves in promoting their Happiness; and they will encourage us in all Improvements tending to the Good of the Whole. They will then see, we have no Thoughts or Intentions, but to promote their Happiness along with our own.

This would lead them to consider us, *as their Brethren and Friends*, sent over to extend their Dominion and encrease their Wealth and Power. They would then look upon us, on passing *the Channel*; no otherwise than as if we had pass'd *the Trent or Tweed*, and, by that means, inlar-

ged the Extent of their Government, without losing the Rights of *Englishmen* by doing so. Then, as a brave, just and wise People, jealous of their own Liberties and Privileges; they would think we deserved to give our Assent to Laws which bind us, and be protected in the Enjoyment of the Rights deriv'd to us from our common Ancestors. They wou'd then remember and consider the vigorous Stand we made, when the Protestant Succession was in Danger: With what Resolution, we preserved our Peace, and spared most of our Troops, at a very short Warning, to quell an unnatural Rebellion begun in *Britain* in 1715; with what Chearfulness, we put our selves into a Readiness to spare several of our Troops to *Great Britain* and *Gibraltar* when attacked by *Spain*.

These Actions of Kindness, and the Continuance of them, would let them see; that the stricter the Union betwixt us, the more serviceable we would be to each other: And make them seriously consider, whether a Union of Trade and Legislature would not be highly to the Benefit of *Britain*; and a Disadvantage only to her Enemies. The Power of *Britain* may be said to be doubled by the late Union there; and a stricter Union with *Ireland* would be, as a threefold Cord, which is not easily broken.

There

There would then be no room left, for Evil designing Persons, to attempt to divide us; by supposing that *Britain* and We have different Interests, or Designs against each other. And *Britain*, thus united to us, would be still more formidable to any, who should be hardy enough to attempt to deprive them of their just Rights and Acquisitions. This Union and Harmony would be an additional Glory to the Reign of a Great and Good King: Who makes it His chief Pleasure and peculiar Care, to add to the Happiness of all his Subjects.

I have gone through those Things that have, at present, occurred to me, as beneficial to all States *in general*: Many of which may be some Way applied to this *particular* Nation. Some such Applications, I have ventured upon. If any of them shall prove of Advantage to it; be it ever so little: I have, in some measure, gained my End. Tho' some of them may be thought impracticable: Yet, if they be founded upon Reason, they may be altered or improved by abler Heads, so as to be of Service to the Publick; and that is what I aim at. I would only chalk out the Road, we ought to follow: And let greater Proficients put the finishing Hand to it. I submit my self to the more Judicious; hoping, they will believe; my Intentions are, to be serviceable to my

my King and Country ; to contribute *my mite* towards the procuring such Alterations, as are likely to add to the Happiness of both ; and (jointly with all true Lovers of their Country) to promote such a Union and Harmony amongst all the King's Subjects, as may make *Him* A GLORIOUS PRINCE, and *Us* A HAPPY PEOPLE.

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